

## THE 'BHUTALI' PHENOMENON Why Are Women Hunted Down As Witches ?

*kashtakari sanghatana*

*The Kashtakari Sanghatna is a left democratic mass organisation of marginal farmers and agricultural workers of Thane District in Maharashtra. Even while launching numerous struggles around the problems of the adivasis, it seeks continually to build-up political consciousness in its membership.*

*Women have been the backbone of the organisation and have consistently remained in the forefront of the movement. However the conscious struggle for women's liberation has only recently become part of the organisation's efforts. Recently, in a women's meeting, a militant Sanghatana member, forced into the background by political repression, raised an issue of vital importance to the adivasi women. She expressed her fears of being suspected as a witch. Once a courageous fighter, now apprehensive of being hunted as a 'bhutali', (witch) her predicament threw into clear relief the contradiction of adivasi womankind - power and powerlessness - reducing them to being victims of cruel inhumanity.*

*Till today, various problems have forced the Sanghatna to take ad hoc measures vis-a-vis the torture of women 'bhutalis'. The efforts of the activists have been reduced to a battle of wits to minimise the brutality. Peoples science movement groups made efforts to expose the superstition. But the 'bhutali' remains mystified and entrenched in the adivasi mind and almost defies a rational solution.*

*The persecution of 'bhutali' reflects the deteriorating health status of the adivasi. The challenge to evolve a creative response to the situation confronts the organisation. This response while being innovative and revolutionary needs to be integral to the ethos and existence of the adivasis, their symbiotic relationship to the forest and their faltering steps into modern society. The search for the 'old yet new' is just beginning.*

Every single year, with almost unflinching regularity adivasi women of Thane District, become unwilling victims of a bizarre ritual which ends, in many cases, with the whole village (men, women and children) crying in a frenzy "death to the witch". In a rapid sequence of events which allow no single member of the village community to remain unaffected or uninvolved, a group of women (or in some cases a single woman) is suspected of witchcraft and, with no warning whatsoever, forced to stand trial. Put in the dock by the village males (with the village women looking on), and sometimes even in absentia, the women are tried and summarily handed a foregone conclusion: the sentence of guilty. The guilty woman (women) is responsible for the many evils that may have befallen the village. She has to take on herself the blame for all the mishaps that may have happened. She is liable for punishment. The trial is swift and final. The accused stands on the dock, already adjudged guilty. She has either the right of counsel (any one defending her is in turn an accomplice and immediately suspect) or defence, she is neither tried nor are her pleas recorded. She stands a mute spectator to her 'trial' and a witness to her own execution.

The whole village is prosecutor, judge and jury and finally the executioner. The guilty victim is then

subjected to the brutal sentence. In most cases she (they) is stoned. Sometimes death comes as a merciful release. Every single member (for fear of being identified as an accomplice and meeting the same fate) takes part in the execution of the sentence. In most cases the event remains locked in the silence of the village. In very few cases does it reach the outer world.

**What is witch-hunting ?  
Why and how does it occur ?**

Disease and death form an integral part of the lives of the impoverished adivasis. In many instances, poverty renders them helpless. Sometimes several deaths plague a single family, at other times an epidemic ravages the village. On some occasions mishaps befall a village, on other occasions disease affects livestock and cattle. The adivasi wonders at these inexplicable mysteries. He searches for the root cause of these maladies. And he finds 'a witch'. He is then impelled to rid the village of this pernicious cause and hunts down the witch with uncontrolled emotion.

Incidents of witch-hunting take place the year round. But they erupt with increased intensity during the monsoon. The reasons for this spurt in witch-hunting are not hard to find.

**1) Increased Starvation, Widespread Malnutrition, Lowered Resistance:** The beginning of the monsoons finds many adivasi families with depleted food reserves. In many cases food stocks are the balance that remains after sowing. While food has already become scarce during the summer months, the adivasi can migrate in search of work and survival. With the onset of the monsoons, work in the brick kilns, salt pans, sand dredgers, stone quarries and earth transport, comes to a halt. The adivasis return to their villages, many of them empty handed. In the villages the availability of work is almost nil, besides many have to choose between working or cultivating their own land.

The ageold recourse of the adivasi in the face of starvation was to search for food in the jungle, wild roots, fruit, leaves and tubers. With these he was able to survive and had evolved elaborate methods of de-toxifying the poisonous roots and tubers, and make them edible. He celebrated this symbiotic reliance on the jungle with the feast of 'kohli' (eating of tender shoots from the jungle). Without eating kohli, the adivasi cannot begin transplantation, (indicative of his understanding that the bounty of the forest took priority to the fruit of his own labour). Today, rampant deforestation and extensive monoculture of commercial teak varieties has drastically reduced the availability of food from the jungle and increased starvation.

The groups most affected by the growing starvation are the older people and the children, who face increased malnutrition and lowered resistance to infection.

**2) Inaccessibility of Health Care, Disrupted Communication, Shortage of Money:** The rains reduce movement to a minimum. Most of the villages remain cut off. ST services are withdrawn as roads become slushy. The bullock carts, inexpensive means of transport are dismantled for the rains, cart tracks through the fields no longer exist. Taking a sick person to the hospital or PHC is possible only with makeshift stretchers. Added to this is "no money" not only to travel, but also to pay for medical services because even the PHC doctors will not treat a person, however serious, free. The lack of money becomes a compelling reason for not taking the sick person to the hospital or PHC for treatment.

**3) Heavy Demands of Cultivation, Illness as Incapacitation:** The adivasi methods of cultivation are backward and labour intensive. Every able bodied person is required for work. The youngest children do baby-sitting, the slightly older take care of the cattle, while the others assist in cultivation. Under such circumstances, a person is considered to be sick only when he is bed-ridden and incapacitated.

Till such a time (till the person falls seriously ill), everyone works, and is not considered sick as long as the person can work. The breakdown of health is considered important only when it becomes an impediment to work.

Most adivasis consider going to the hospital as a last resort, when all other efforts have failed. They prefer the village bhagat because he works free, while the hospital or PHC costs money. Most patients are taken to the hospital when they are very serious. Taking a person to hospital/PHC is a disruption of the work-schedule as many are needed to take the person in a stretcher or remain in the hospital to cook for the patient. Hence the gravity of the illness is important to motivate people to take the patient to a medical facility.

**4) Increased Waterborne Infection:** The rains wash down the dirt from the hill slopes. Water rushes down the denuded hill sides. The thick forests and undergrowth assisted in the percolation and filtration of water. Now the streams are a muddy flow, carrying with them infection. The jungle serves as a toilet for the villagers and all of it reaches the streams. In addition, the adivasis relish the fish in the streams, which for many families is probably their major source of edible protein. The tiny fingerlings are eaten without removing the entrails. While the use of powdered tamarind leaves help to destroy any micro-organisms in the entrails, possibilities of infection still remain.

To recap, this maze of insecurity and uncertainty, the tribal places unquestioning reliance on the bhagat as his refuge, hoping through him to find a way out of a seemingly hopeless situation.

The bhagat is the tribal priest and medicine man rolled into one. He is a villager like the others, who has initiated himself into 'bhagatship'. He supports himself by his work on his lands, being a bhagat brings in no income, on the contrary it is often a drain on his own time and resources. He performs the few rituals that exist in the adivasi religion. His major function, which continues throughout the year, is as healer and medicine man.

The warli religion is based on spirit worship. Some elements of hinduism have crept in, but remain on the fringes of their worship and ritual. The koknas have absorbed much more of hindu beliefs, deities and tradition. The religion of the people centres around the appeasement of the spirits whose anger the people fear. Religion does not provide any morality or enforce an ethical code.

The adivasi medicine is from the jungle. Over years of experience, the bhagats have discovered a

variety of roots, herbs and medicinal plants that they dispense to the sick. The knowledge of these medicinal plants is handed down by word of mouth. However, once the bhagat has handed down the knowledge of the various remedies, he is supposed to stop dispensing these medicines as with the knowledge he has also handed down the power and efficacy of the medicine. The system of diagnosis centres round 'knots'. The body, according to their system, consists of different knots of muscle, nerve and blood vessel. Good health is a manifestation that equilibrium prevails, with each knot being in place and maintaining the desired tension. Illness occurs when the equilibrium is affected and the knots are either dislocated or lose their required tension. The treatment for illness is either in the form of branding or consumption of medicine, inhalation or even tying some herbs on the body.

The bhagat, then, is the immediate and in a sense ideal solution, for a variety of reasons: he is accessible; he is known; he is understandable; he is inexpensive; he is reliable; and, he is acceptable. Hence he forms an integral part of the adivasi healing system.

The treatment that the bhagat gives is a combination of spirit worship and offering to appease the angry spirit, and the use of herbal medicine combined at times with branding. The proportion of spirit worship and dispensing of herbal medicine varies widely with different bhagats. The efficacy of the bhagat however is progressively diminishing. The reasons for the decreases in his effectiveness are largely beyond his control.

**a) Deforestation and Monoculture :** Large tracts of mixed forests are being felled and replaced by monoculture of teak. A teak plantation supports no other forms of flora or fauna. With deforestation most of the traditionally used herbs are difficult to find. Many bhagats decrease the use of herbs because finding the herbs is a time consuming process. The numbers of herbal medicine-men is also on the decrease.

**b) Lack on Continuity :** As handing over knowledge of herbs means that the bhagat loses his power and efficacy, many bhagats die with their extensive knowledge acquired over the years. The tradition is not handed down.

**c) Modern Diseases and Epidemics :** with migration to the slums and shanty towns on the fringes of the cities, many adivasis return with infections which are totally new. The adivasi pharmacopia can no longer cope with the new diseases.

**d) Lowered Health levels :** The destruction of the forests, the elimination of mixed forests (with

a variety of fruit and nut trees), the disappearance of game and the general growth of the population coupled with increased exploitation has had a severe effect on the diet of the adivasis, their intake of protein, vitamins and trace minerals resulting in a general lowering of the health of local adivasi population.

Caught in a vice of growing demands on his knowledge and powers of healing on the one hand, and a growing inability to deal with new conditions both in terms of diagnosis and therapy, a significant change is taking place in the system: a) there is a distinct shift in the bhagats' modus operandi, moving more and more into spirit worship and appeasement, rather than dispensing herbal medicine, b) The tribal medical system is becoming progressively ineffective and with it grows the bhagats' failure.

To the mind, the new situation is inexplicable. They do not understand the changing circumstances that contribute to its deterioration. The bhagat cannot fail because he is in continual communication with the spirits. He can do no wrong. The blame has to be fixed elsewhere. And so, the witch becomes the cause of all the calamities and mishaps that befall a family or the village.

**What are the events that culminate in this brutality?**

The first event that triggers-off a witch hunt is either a prolonged illness, an inexplicable death, a series of deaths in a family, an epidemic that affects the inhabitants of a village or the livestock, widespread crop disease or failure, a number of mishaps or calamities that occur, or a combination of them.

It begins with a murmur, ('there is a witch') either emanating from the bhagat's mouth or from one of the affected individuals or groups. The murmur grows into a crescendo as the word spreads. The male members of the village start to take notice, the women of the village begin to fear.

A collection is made by the villagers to cover the costs of discovering the witch. A group of villagers is assigned the task and they go from bhagat to bhagat in search of an elusive prey.

The bhagat tries out a variety of rituals, (dann herne - read the message in grains of rice; diva herne - identify the witch in the light of a lamp), vati chalavne (using a cup which 'moves' and identifies the witch), he may conduct the sacrifice of a chicken or goat and try and read the indications spelt out in the entrails. The group of villagers may go to more than one bhagat to make certain of the identity of the witch. The bhagat who identifies the witch is not usually from the same village or locality. But through careful, intelligent questioning he is able to locate

either quarrelsome women, destitute women, women with poor family support, women who are generally socially weak, midwives and so on. The bhagat then proceeds to identify the witch and generally gives a vague description of the women on the basis of the descriptions unwittingly given by the women themselves. Once an identity is given, the group of men may go to another bhagat for a confirmation. Here too a subtle process of questions-and-answers is carried out and the identity of the witch given in similar though vague terms.

Once the process of identification is over, the next step of the village is to find the woman to fit the identity. Depending on the vagueness of the description given, the villagers (male) call for an identification parade. The parade can also consist of making all the women stand on a tava (frying pan) made red hot, on the assumption that the witches' feet will not burn. Sometimes this is bypassed and the witch is pointed out by one of the villagers and supported by the others. A third possibility is all the women who come close to the description are beaten-up till they confess to their nefarious activities and their crimes.

Once a witch or witches are identified, the whole village goes through the bizarre ritual of exorcising the evil spirit, or her association with the goddess Himai. Acting on the assumption that she feels no pain, the woman/women are beaten with clubs, stones or whatever else the villagers can lay their hands on. No one, whatsoever they be (man, woman or child), whatsoever their relationship with the culprit be, wheresoever their sympathies may lie, whatever their beliefs may be, can abstain from this brutal activity, because an accusing finger will point in her/his direction. She/he will be accused of being accomplices of the witch.

The witch/witches are beaten till she/they fall senseless. Sometimes they survive. Survivors in most cases leave the village because the sword of an encore hangs continually on their heads. If a witch dies, she is summarily buried (not burnt) and the village maintains a stonewalled silence. If news of her death leaks out to the police, the villagers settle on who will take the onus of the 'murder' and assure him with money and legal assistance and the assurance that no one will testify against him at the trial.

After the ritualistic sacrifice is over, the catharsis complete, the village settles down with a sense of release that the cause of their anxiety has been eliminated. The women still shudder at the frightening events that has shattered their lives

and a gnawing fear that they could be next in line. **What does the Bhutali phenomenon represent?**

At the outset, we must make it clear that the efforts to understand the phenomenon are in no way complete and need further elaboration. We are putting down our reflections as they have occurred to us, hoping to organise them further as we learn more about the living and thinking and feeling of the adivasi women and men.

a) The torture and death of the bhutali provides a bizarre ritual which serves (provides) as catharsis: a ritualistic release of tension/aggression/resentment of the tribal accumulated in his experience of the many painful events that continually plague his existence, the feelings of helplessness which accompanies his efforts to resolve them, the fears and insecurities that harass him all the while, and his forced acceptance of the unwanted unacceptable events of disease, death, mishaps and calamities. Through this catharsis, he finds release without having to confront the truth of the situation and thereby is reconciled once again to the situation.

b) The torture and death of the bhutali, thereby provides a rationalisation (explanation) of the failure of the bhagat to heal, and the relative inefficacy of the medical system. This rationalisation helps to diffuse any attempts to reassess the system of healing. The process is enhanced by the subtle shift from dispensing herbal medicine to sorcery and witchcraft that has taken place in the modus operandi of the bhagats.

c) The torture and death of the bhutali legitimises the man's innate suspicion of the 'vile-guile-deviuousness' of women.

(The efforts of women to develop their own means of self-defence and countering the brute force of man have always been interpreted as scheming and guile). Hence in warli society every woman is a potential witch. No woman can ever claim to be free from this cruel possibility.

d) The torture and death of the bhutali provide a mechanism that compensates man's inability to resolve the problems of his existence (the here and now), by projecting (transferring) the root cause of all that is evil (painful) in his present outside of himself (beyond). This compensation helps him to reconcile himself to his here and now, without being forced by the nature of the events into seeking a rational explanation for them.

e) The torture and death of the bhutali serves as the 'ultimate' mechanism of control of women by men. It manifests the use of brute force (mens' forte) to crush the spirit of women and keep them in perpetual bondage. The accustion of being a bhutali is

continually resorted to by man to maintain the subjugation of women. (such references can be observed even in interactions between husband and wife). The torture and death of the bhutali which takes place in the presence of women remains a constant reminder that the duty of women is to conform and obey even when the order/command is a painful death.

f) The torture and death of Bhutali hence becomes the final (definitive) seal on the domination of women by men. The threat of the acrimonious investigation and trial culminating in a violent brutal punishment hangs continually as a sword on the head of every woman, threatening to snap at the slightest provocation.

g) The torture and death of the bhutali therefore is geared towards a conclusive suppression of any act of defiance on the part of women. The bhutali can be seen as the personification of defiance to the male order (organisation) of his world. She defies their efforts to reorganise their lives according to their plan and hence deserves the brutal treatment meted out to her.

h) The torture and death of the bhutali remains a constant warning to every woman that 'any act of insubordination to male domination will meet with a violent end'. This warning needs to be reinforced from time to time and hence periodic witch-hunting expeditions serve both a therapeutic as well as a preventive function in terms of the malaise of male-dominated society namely, the presence and thinking of women.

i) The torture and death of bhutali is related to the mystique that grows round 'blood - foetus - pregnancy' in the primitive mind. The mystique develops in the sense of awe and moves into the realm of fear. The male in his attempt to control the fear, seeks to control/crush/ suppress the root cause of the fear, the women. The dominant male also revolts against the realisation of the superior position of women which comes through their power to create and sustain life. His role in the creation of life remains minimal. His refusal to admit his subordinate place finds its expression in his act of domination.

j) The torture and death of bhutali is the logical culmination of the Pure-Impure Contradiction. This ritualistic impurity is extended into the interpretation of the female principle as dark, unruly, anarchic, devious, dangerous; while the man remains pure, rational, righteous. In the 'impurity' prejudice lie the roots of torture of womankind and their death to rid society of the 'evil principle'. The bhutali is a devotee of Himai, the goddess (the only female

principle in the warli pantheon) of evil. The Principles of Good and Evil are embodied in man and woman.

k) The torture and death of the Bhutali (in many cases the suin/midwife) represents the ancient rivalry between the Bhagat and the Suin. The Midwife in her role of assisting in the birth of new life has knowledge of the mysteries of life which will always remain inaccessible to the bhagat. Her knowledge brings power and draws her inexorably into the power struggle with the Bhagat who triumphs in condemning her to death.

l) The torture and death of the bhutali is a manifestation of the Principle of Good (the Bhagat-male) finally establishing his supremacy in crushing the Principle of Evil (the Bhutali-woman). The bhagat as tradition goes can do no wrong nor can he harbour any evil towards anyone. All wrong and evil can be born therefore only in the womb of woman, and takes physical form in the body of a woman.

m) The torture and death of the bhutali remains a flagrant contradiction in the organisation of warli society. On the one hand the two sacraments (rites of passage/initiation) namely the-zoli : (tying of the cradle) which initiates the new born child as a member of the tribe and is given a name and the lugin (marriage-the rite of initiation into the perpetuation of the tribe) by which the man and woman become adult members of the tribe are both performed by adult women. The male has no effective role to play in either of these two rites. Yet which being the High Priestess of the community, the woman must be continually kept in her rightful place. The Bhutali is the warning that the Mighty can be thrown down from their lofty thrones and made to mingle in the dust. This contradiction in warli society remains unquestioned.

n) In fact, the torture and the death of the Bhutali, as has been from time immemorial, becomes the rationalisation for the failure of man to organise his universe. The bhutali becomes the scapegoat that exonerates man of his failure in exercising his 'divinely appointed' responsibility to keep order in his world.

Where do we go from here ?

It is sometimes disconcerting to discover that the fear of the bhutali is so deeply rooted in the adivasi mind that the eradication of this horrendous annihilation of women suspected as being witches defies an easy solution. And yet there must be a way out. Our own struggle to find a way out of this malaise that strikes a death blow to the awakening of women throws up five possibilities. We share them below.

commodities would offer Tanzania more options than that of devaluing its currency or curtailing its development programs. The amelioration of terms of trade would offer Tanzanian coffee farmers better returns on the crop they now produce, obviating the need to expand production at rates of 5 and 6 percent per annum. Improved terms of trade would also alter the economic circumstances of women and offer the possibility of better health and nutrition for themselves and their families. The New International Economic Order holds the promise of a future for Tanzania radically different from the grim one currently predicted.

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a) **Awakening the Women** : To understand the reality of the bhutali phenomenon in all its different dimensions. (In the minds of many woman there is a lurking doubt that the bhutali may be real. This comes to the fore especially in the minds of women affected by unfortunate events and they support their husbands in the hunt for the witch). This awakening is part of the wider struggle of the women for emancipation and equality. This awakening must also form part of the general awakening of the male population. (The men too have a tremendous fear of the witch and which is the reason for the vehemence with which they act to annihilate her). Since the bulk of the population is illiterate, the process of awakening will have to make extensive use of drama, song and discussion.

b) **Improved Health is the cornerstone** : Because if one goes through the earlier part of this paper one notices that the event that triggers the witch hunt, is in most cases 'unexplained' disease or death. The deterioration of the adivasi health system is a major area of concern when one looks at the bhutali problem. Any effort will have to be directed to attain three goals :

- i) A re-evaluation and change of the adivasi understanding of health, disease, and health care.
- ii) Taking health to the grass-roots in the form of more radical health care systems and creative responses to the health problems
- iii) Developing a local integrated system of preventive health care.

c) **The Enlightened Bhagat is the Key** : As the central person in the traditional health care system of the adivasis, the bhagat plays a crucial role (whether positive or negative). Hence any action for integrated creative health care would necessarily need to include the 'enlightened bhagat' (Any attempt to substitute the present with a parallel system even if it provides a superior and more efficient system, would be counter-productive). Those 'enlightened bhagats' would have to be involved in a process that is geared to : i) improving diagnostic skills, ii) identification of herbal remedies and their medicinal properties, together with methods of cultivating and preserving various herbal plants, iii) Development of supplementary skills and medicine to complement those areas where the local systems and remedies are insufficient. iv) Development of preventive health care as a system in its own right with the bhagats.

d) **Education to develop scientific attitude** : A consistent programme to introduce a scientific temperament coupled with the struggle against superstition should run through the whole effort which would integrate the various parts as one integrated look at life and its different processes.

This short paper tries to put forward what we are thinking and hoping to put into effect. We need assistance and co-operation at every step. Your solidarity is as necessary as our efforts. We hope you will become part of this process of struggling for the liberation of the adivasi and the women in particular.

## Why don't you write for us ?

This periodical is a collective effort of many individuals active or interested in the field of health or interested in health issues. The chief aim of the journal is to provide a forum for exchange of ideas and for generating a debate on practical and theoretical issues in health from a radical or marxist perspective. We believe that only through such interaction can a coherent radical and marxist critique of health and health care be evolved.

Each issue of the journal will focus on one theme, but it will also carry (i) Discussions on articles published in earlier issues (ii) Commentaries, reports, shorter contributions outside the main theme.

Our forthcoming issues will focus on : Work and Health, Politics of Population Control, and Health and Imperialism.

If you wish to write on any of these issues do let us know immediately. We have to work three months ahead of the date of publication, which means that the issue on Women and Health is already being worked on. A full length article should not exceed 6,000 words and the number of references in the article should not exceed 50. Unless otherwise stated author's names in the case of joint authorship will be printed in alphabetical order. We have retained the spellings and referencing style of reprint articles. You will appreciate that we have a broad editorial policy on the basis of which articles will be accepted.

We would also like to receive shorter articles, commentaries, views or reports. These need not be on the themes we have mentioned. These articles should not exceed 2,000 words. Please do write and tell us what you think of this issue.

All articles should be sent in duplicate. They should be neatly typed in double spacing, on one side of the sheet. This is necessary because we do not have office facilities here and the press requires all material to be typed. But if it is impossible for you to get the material typed, do not let it stop you from sending us your contributions in a neat handwriting on one side of the paper. Send us two copies of the article written in a legible handwriting with words and sentences liberally spaced on one side of the paper.

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## Give Us an Answer

All our life is on fire, all our prices rising,  
Give us an answer, O rulers of the country !

A handful of American wheat, a kilo of milo mixed with chaff  
Doesn't our country grow crops  
Or do we have only mud-mixed grains ?

Give us an answer.....

We have forgotten the colour of milk  
Coconuts and dried fruits have gone underground  
Our children have only jaggery tea for nourishment

Sweet oil for cooking is the price of gold  
Coconut oil for our hair is not to be had  
Without rock oil for lamps we are familiar with darkness

We burn in the summer, we are drenched in the rains  
We bear the rigor of winter without any clothes  
Why don't we yet have any shelter ?

We toil night and day and sleep half-starved  
While the parasites fill their bellies with butter  
Why does the thief get food while the owner is cheated ?

There are pastures for the cattle of the rich  
For forest development land is preserved  
Why is there no land to support living people ?

Tall buildings rise before our eyes  
The roads cannot contain these motorcycles and cars  
On whose labour has such development been built ?

We filled the jails for independence  
We hurled bombs into the cars of the white men  
Did we do it to fatten the sacred cow ?

When we ask for a rise in wages, for work for the unemployed  
Why are we met with jail, beatings and bullets ?

Now you have taken a new disguise  
And appear in the colours of socialism  
But we no longer want for today, promises of tomorrow !

Now we will stand on our own feet  
We will throw caste and religious differences to the winds  
We call for the sisterhood and brotherhood of all toilers !

We vow today to fight with our lives  
We will bury capitalism in the grave  
And sound the drums of our state !

**Bhaskar Jadhav, 1971**  
(Original in Marathi)

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